which opens at 11 a.m. and at midnight, for an hour, to allow the passage of vessels through the deep channel between the two islands. There is a toll gate at the bridge and cars coming from Muharraq to Manama are charged 4 annas. Beyond the bridge, around a group of white buildings, the Customs House, Police Station and Municipal Office, there is always a scene of much activity. Here boats unload their cargoes and buses fill with passengers bound for all parts of the Islands. The sea road continues along the water front until it turns inland towards the airport. Much of the ground inside the sea road has not yet been reclaimed and at high tide the sea forms little squares of still water where children sail home-made boats. On Muharraq sea front there are several important buildings, a government dispensary, a large school and, at the northern corner, a block of flats.

491 486 344 [857]

Another road, opposite the causeway, runs up into the town passing through the bazaars, which branch off to the north and south. The Muharraq shops are of the old fashioned type, with neither plate glass nor fixed prices. There are antique dealers and carpet sellers and all the usual traders found in Arab towns. Ships chandlers are numerous as Muharraq has always been a sea faring centre. Arab chests, carved or brass bound, carpets, worked leather sandals, divers' equipment and goods of interest to tourists can be bought here at prices lower after judicious bargaining, than those in Manama.

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Today Muharraq is still a typically Arab town, a fact of which its inhabitants are proud. Most of the shops are owned by Arabs and are not occupied by Indians or Persians as in Manama. The town, although it was once the capital of Bahrain, the centre of the pearl industry and the focus of trade (a fact that its inhabitants remember with pride) has developed more slowly than Manama. There are few modern buildings, only one cinema and no large European style shops, but its climate is said to be pleasanter than Manama and it is not so humid in the summer. Muharraq was once a walled town but no traces of the walls now remain. The high old houses which line the narrow streets have changed little during the last century, except where corners have been cut away to make passages for large American cars. Many of the larger houses belong to the Ruling Family. They are built around courtyards and in some cases a big house contains three or four such courtyards, surrounded by high walls with few outward-looking windows in them to screen the house from prying eyes.

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Muharraq has a telephone service, electric light, a Post Office and a filling station, but no main water supply, apart from artesian wells. As in the case of Manama, the affairs of the town are controlled by an elected Municipal Council presided over by a member of the Ruling Family.

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The sea surrounds the town on three sides but at the northern end a new residential area is developing on land which is being sold by the Municipality for building purposes. East of the town is the bay of Arad, the ancient name for Muharraq at the time of Alexander,

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361 and on the shore there is an old deserted fort which was built by the Omanis during a short period when they occupied the Islands. A [504] ferry service of small sailing boats plies between Muharraq and Arad fort, but to drive round the bay to the fort by car takes less time than crossing by boat.

396 Boat building is one of the few local industries of Muharraq and is carried out along the shores of the town, especially on the eastern coast. Carpenters and shipwrights are apt to extend their work half across the road and when driving a car one often has to avoid sails which are pegged out for joining or for repairs, rope winders, men mending nets or carpenters working on big wooden water tanks for the pearling dhows.

361 178 Many visitors to Bahrain never enter Muharraq and by failing to do so they miss the sight of a comparatively untouched Arab town, a sight that is rapidly becoming rarer in the oil rich Persian Gulf.

HEDD

361 Bahrain's number three town is Hedd. Long and narrow, it is built on a strip of land which juts out into the sea at the south-east end of Muharraq Island. The houses are closely packed together and extend right to the edge of the sea, one road, only just wide enough for motor vehicles, runs through the centre of the town and on each side a labyrinth of narrow lanes leads down to the shore. There are few barastis in Hedd and most of the people live in stone houses ; some of them are large, built by pearl merchants in the days when the pearl industry of which Hedd was an important centre, was flourishing. The bazaar is in the main street and it contains many shops which sell all manner of goods. Water is supplied to the town by several artesian wells.

[162] The population of Hedd is entirely Sunni and predominantly Arab, although a few of the shopkeepers are Persians. It includes Arabs of the Bin Ali, Saada, Mesedem and Musallam tribes who used to be very influential in Bahrain ; the last were once the rulers of Qatar. Hedd was originally a diving town but although it still has much contact with the sea, many of its inhabitants work on shore. Its people have a reputation for intelligence and energy and this is shown by the fact that they have produced better results from their schools than any other community. The town is conspicuously clean, owing partly to the fact that it is surrounded by the sea on three sides.

368 633 Hedd has a handsome new police station, at the entrance to the town, which was completed in 1952, a Municipality and Boys' and Girls' Schools which were opened in 1937 and 1939 respectively. For some years the Muharraq Municipality included Hedd in its activities but in 1945 Hedd formed its own elected Municipal Council with four members. There is also in Hedd a dispensary and a small women's hospital with accommodation for a certain number of in-patients.

226 Hedd is famous for its prawns which are caught in special traps and sent to the fish markets of Manama and Muharraq.

MUNICIPALITIES

MANAMA MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Mohamed Saleh Shater, Secretary of the Manama Municipality)

633 795 At the beginning of the year, owing to sectarian differences between Sunni and Shia members in 1371 A which caused the resignation of the Shia members, Municipal affairs were being dealt with by a committee of Sunnis. This was the situation until the middle of the year when the Government succeeded in persuading the Shia members to resume their duties on the Council. They returned on the understanding that they would serve for only one year after which an election should be held.

During the latter part of the year the Council functioned in a more or less normal manner; by shelving all matters which might cause controversy between the sects the Council succeeded in performing its duties without serious differences. The situation, however, was not satisfactory.

633 **Finance.** The Financial Committee which drew up the budget was formed from the temporary Sunni committee. Estimated revenue for 1372 was Rs. 7,04,000 and expenditure was assessed at the same figure. The actual revenue exceeded the estimate by Rs. 1,16,000, the expenditure was Rs. 61,000 more than was expected and at the end of the year a surplus of revenue over expenditure amounting to Rs. 61,000 was added to the Reserve which was then Rs. 2,83,000.

651 427 The increase in revenue was due to a great extent to higher receipts from house and shop taxes. There were many new buildings in the town and higher rents were charged for existing buildings, both for houses and shops. House taxes and shop taxes on buildings which are leased are charged on a percentage basis of the rent. Taxation on houses which are occupied by their owners is extremely low in comparison with that of rented premises. A large proportion of the rented houses are occupied by foreigners and most of the houses in which the owners live are occupied by people of the country.

425 653 368 During the year the Municipality sold land to the public at the price of Rs. 35,200 and it purchased a new fire engine for Rs. 48,000. The Government presented to the Municipality a motor-driven trailer fire pump and jeep, a rubbish carrying vehicle and a gully emptying vehicle.

364 **Municipal activities.** Town cleaning was effected during the year by two trucks and 30 donkey carts, town rubbish was utilised to reclaim a large portion of sea on the shore at Hora, opposite Cable and Wireless premises. The method of employing donkey carts to carry town refuse is not a satisfactory one. An order was placed in England during the summer for small rubbish-carrying vehicles which can be used in narrow streets.

363 A number of roads in the town were metalled, the area dealt with was about 380,000 square feet on which was used 480,000 cubic feet of stone and 105,000 cubic feet of sand, the whole costing approximately Rs. 1,76,000.

363 247 Some progress was made in widening streets in the bazaar area, 112 new street lights were installed and more trees were planted on the roads, unfortunately each year a number of trees are destroyed, by wind or sometimes by rain which when it falls strongly seems to kill both plants and trees.

362 427 There was much building activity both in the town and on the outskirts of the town, numbers of small houses were built for occupation by their owners and more European style bungalows and flats were built for letting. House rents are excessively high, landlords expect to recover the cost of their property in less than ten years, so building houses for letting is at present a profitable investment. However, so many houses are now being built that it seems possible that in a short time there may be more houses than tenants.

633 342 During the year permits for new buildings were issued by the Municipality for 144 stone houses and 100 barasti huts and permits for repairs and additions to 186 shops and 717 houses were also granted.

1 [A.D. 1951-52 -- Analyst]

[Manama Municipality 31]

368 The Municipal fire service was called out to deal with 34 fires, some of them occurring in Muharraq and in the villages. The incidence of serious fires was higher than it has ever been before.

633 Among the routine activities carried out by the Municipality was the inspection of 28,462 sheep and goats, 3446 head of cattle and 47 camels, which comprised the meat supply during the year. Pauper burials were provided for 48 persons; this in the past was a rare event, the increase in the number of cases is partly due to there being so many foreigners in Bahrain. Two pieces of low-lying land on the south of the town were raised by a filling of stone and sand, at the owner's expense. A stone wall 1,750 feet long and 5 feet high was built, in the sea, at Government expense, to surround an area of sea which is being reclaimed by filling with town rubbish covered with sand.

The Municipality issued 1,550 permits for building, 884 notices were sent out to people requiring them to repair drains and sewers and 23 cases were filed in the various courts. The temporary council met 21 times and there were 41 meetings of sub-committees.

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STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372 *

Revenue			Expenditure		
Shop Tax	Rs. 284,817 10 6		Staff Salaries P. Fund, etc.	Rs. 138,183 12 6	
House Tax	244,964 15 0		Office Expenses	7,358 11 0	
Government Grant	100,000 0 0		Town Cleaning	239,942 2 0	
Local Cart Tax	5,991 8 0		Town Lighting	43,009 6 0	
Slaughterhouse Fees	27,015 0 0		Road Metalling and Repairing	176,895 13 3	
Rent of Municipal Property	32,591 12 0		Widening Roads	10,543 4 0	
Miscellaneous taxes and fees	116,652 2 6		Pauper Burials	3,380 0 0	
Licences of professional trades	8,082 4 0		Upkeep of Municipal property	9,642 8 0	
	820,115 4 0		Muharraq shares in certain taxes	25,540 3 0	
			Upkeep of Public W.C's and rubbish bins	4,259 12 0	
			Miscellaneous	7,950 7 6	
			Fire Service, Road Spraying and Trees Watering	72,969 1 8	
			Planting street trees and square gardens	22,106 4 0	
			Slaughterhouse expenses	3,565 0 0	
				765,146 4 11	
			Surplus of Revenue	54,968 15 1	
Total Rs.	820,115 4 0		Total Rs.	820,115 4 0	

Cash in Bank at the end of 1371	Rs.	255,997 5 0
Cash in Bank at the end of 1372		283,387 8 10

MUHARRAQ MUNICIPALITY

(From the report of Mr. Ibrahim Khalfan, Municipal Secretary)

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652 **Finance.** When the 1372 budget was made a deficit of Rs. 1,59,000 was anticipated. As usual the Finance Committee of the Council planned to spend very much more than they could possibly hope to receive. This year, however, the reckless financial methods of the Council met with more success than they deserved as His Highness Shaikh Sulman made a special grant of 1 lakh from the Privy Purse to the Muharraq Municipal funds. Owing to this unexpected windfall instead of ending the year with a deficit of almost a lakh the revenue exceeded the expenditure by over Rs. 3,000/-.

* [A.D. 1952-53 -- Analyst]

[Muharraq Municipality]

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There was a small increase in house tax collections but the sum of Rs. 3,370/-, owing to the Municipality, was written off as most of the 853 persons who were indebted had left Bahrain, which suggests some laxity on the part of tax collectors. Shop taxes, including market tax, produced less than in 1371. Shops are divided into two categories and pay Rs. 2/- and Rs. 1/8 per month, which is a very low rate, they should be assessed according to the rentals.

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The total expenditure was Rs. 3,23,600, it was Rs. 66,000 less than the estimated expenditure but exceeded the previous year's expenditure by Rs. 83,000. The largest item of expenditure was on widening roads and most of this amount was spent on compensating house owners for cutting part of their property.

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Municipal Activities. Two roads were surfaced with cold patch and another road was metalled and surfaced by the P.W.D., 58 new street lights were installed. The usual town cleaning services were effectively carried out and Municipal Officials were active in supervising the sale of fresh fruit and in inspecting animals in the slaughterhouse.

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During the year 16 new stone houses were built and 1,500 permits were issued for repairing stone houses and shops. Only 53 permits were issued for building or repairing baristis, as against 200 in the previous year. There were 285 unoccupied houses and compounds.

There was some building activity on the northern edge of the town where building plots have been bought from the Government and from the Municipality by persons wishing to build stone houses.

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On his return from England His Highness decided that a public garden should be made on the north side of Muharraq on a large triangular piece of land which was reclaimed from the sea shore by being filled with town rubbish.

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The Finance Committee at the end of the year again submitted a budget showing an anticipated deficit of Rs. 86,000.

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1372

Revenue				Expenditure			
House Tax	Rs. 41,169	3	9	Staff Salaries	Rs. 72,691	3	6
Shop Tax	23,860	9	0	Office Expenditure	3,450	0	0
Government Grant	1,00,000	0	0	Transport	41,010	0	6
H.H. Grant*	1,00,000	0	0	Upkeep of Roads	55,874	7	0
Wood, Ghee and Sheep Tax	26,673	3	6	Widening of Roads	91,834	4	0
Rent of Municipal property	20,731	5	0	Town Cleaning	43,050	8	6
Building and Mason fees	3,928	8	0	Town Lighting	4,531	1	0
Miscellaneous Taxes and Fees	9,248	7	0	Upkeep of Public Wells	2,180	6	0
Water Rent	1,699	0	0	Pauper Burials	5,104	0	0
				Miscellaneous Fees	3,190	3	0
				Upkeep of Municipal Property	373	12	0
				Poor Relief	381	2	0
					Rs. 3,23,678	0	6
				Surplus of Revenue	3,632	3	9
	Rs. 3,27,310	4	3		Rs. 3,27,310	4	3

*Rs. 70,859/- was paid direct to the Government to settle its outstanding account.

HIDD MUNICIPALITY

651 633 **Finance.** The total revenue was Rs. 28,739, slightly higher than in 1372. At the end of the year there was a surplus of Rs. 6,102. The amount expended was almost the same as in the previous year. At the end of the year His Highness granted Rs. 25,000 to the Municipal funds for building property to increase the Municipal revenue.

The town was clean and well kept and some progress was made in widening the one main street which passes through the length of the town.

RAFAA MUNICIPALITY

which includes East, West and North Rafaa

(From the report of Shaikh Abdulla bin Khalid, President of the Municipal Council)

651 633 363 This Municipality, the last one to be formed in Bahrain, having been established in 1371, carried out its duties successfully during the year. Its revenue was Rs. 37,000 of which Rs. 20,000 was a grant from the Government.

Houses were registered and numbered for the purpose of charging house tax and a piece of land below East Rafaa was laid out as a building area, in conjunction with the Land Department. The Municipality began work on widening the road which passes through East Rafaa and removed part of some houses in order to widen this road.

365 Repairs were carried out to Ain Hinainiyah, the old well on the plain below East Rafaa which provides fresh drinking water, which used to be sold in Manama at a high price, being of superior quality to the artesian well water.

364 Ancient rubbish heaps, which disfigured the edge of the town, were removed and the material was used to fill in deep pits, inside the town, where mud had been dug for building houses.

The Municipality began to establish a regular town cleaning service.

MINORS' ESTATES DEPARTMENT

(From the report of Mr. Mohammed Dowaiger, Superintendent of the Department)

471 657 The Department took over the administration of 18 new estates and dealt with 28 compensation cases relating to persons in the employment of the Bahrain Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company. The value of the estates was Rs. 131,000. Compensation paid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company in cases of death or disablement of employees is passed by the Government to the Minors' Estates Department which pays the persons who are entitled to receive compensation.

657 427 Rents of property administered by the Department produced almost 2 lakhs, the number of properties, including shops, houses, gardens, etc., was 530. The Department sold nine lots of property during the year, for approximately half a lakh and made purchases amounting to Rs. 9,000. The sum of Rs. 15,000 was recovered from divers who were in debt to various estates.

Muharraq Island

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the sec-
162 ond largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the
633 Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which
162 should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [697] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by
712 the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

Over 61 percent of this population lives in the three towns of Manamah, Muharraq, and Hedd;[5] the rest, 38.5 percent, is scattered about in 90 villages and hamlets concentrated mostly in the northern and northeastern tip of the largest island. In the 9-year period between the two censuses the population had increased 22 percent, mainly in the three towns mentioned. The village population remained almost stationary (actually an absolute increase of 3.5 percent and a relative decrease of 5.5 percent). The concentration of increase in the towns can be explained by the better sanitary conditions existing there and the influx of foreigners. Evidently there was little local migration during this period from village to town, although in some cases it was found that villages had been deserted or greatly reduced in size.[6] It is interesting to note that the only population movement took place in some of the Arab Sunni villages.[7]

Tables I and III are in a certain sense misleading, for they give a false picture of homogeneity in the population (84 percent Bahrain subjects, 96 percent Muslims) that does not exist. Society in Bahrain is divided into several groupings, in most cases distinct and recognizable. Association with one group in many instances implies a certain occupational specialization, but the main forces that have determined social division are religion, tribal loyalties, and nationality.

THE SHI'IS AND THE SUNNIS

The Muslim Arab population of Bahrain is divided into Shi'is and Sunnis, who in almost all cases never live in the same village. The Shi'is live in their own tightly-knit communities and do not intermix with the rest of the population to any considerable degree. Fighting — especially in the larger towns, when the two communities do come into contact — frequently breaks out between the two groups, necessitating the intervention of the police and even the British navy.[8] A recent index of the feeling between the two groups is the fact that for the last several years there has been no municipal council for the capital city, Manamah, for the simple reason that no agreement could be reached on the number of seats to be allotted each of the two Muslim groups.

Aside from the small minority of Persians, the Shi'is are all Baharnah. There is no agreement as to the ethnic origin of these people; however, they now speak Arabic and are regarded as Arabs. They are the oldest group among the present inhabitants of the shaykhdom and have been subjected through the centuries to successive conquests, so that altho gh at present they equal or exceed the Sunnis in number — as the 1941 census

[5] See Table II.
[6] *Census 1950*, p. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[8] Abbas Faroughly, *The Bahrain Islands* (New York, 1951), p. 99.